

History of the elements of architecture in Lebanon in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods

Alexander Hourani

Beirut

2023

Important notification:

In 2021, Walid Joumblatt asked Zaher Ghossaini, his restoration architect, to write a book on the religious buildings of Moukhtara, Joumblatt's native village. Ghossaini asked me to partake in the writing of this book. Of these buildings, the oldest are:

- 1) The majlis of the Hosn al Din family dating to the end of the 15th century,
- 2) The church of the Catholic Greeks dating to the 18th century,
- 3) The majlis of sheikh Beshir Joumblatt dating to 1808.
- 4) The church of the Maronites dating to 1820,

During research, it was necessary to establish the history of the elements of architecture as there are no reliable modern works on this subject. After K. A. C. Creswell, most works became specialized in the detailed description of buildings and no one has done a precise history of the elements of architecture, especially of Lebanon during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. In this lies the originality of the work I am presenting here.

However, I must warn that the work presented here is yet unfinished.

Ghossaini was annoyed with the conclusions of this research as it contradicted his own preconceptions. Ghossaini has no historical and archaeological credentials and the historical and archaeological substance in the book "Shouf Built Heritage Conservation Project", printed in 2015, is based on my researches. Yet, he wanted to hinder and interfere with the course of research, which forced me to interrupt my work.

Since Ghossaini manipulated part of my archaeological discoveries in Shouf and put them in the name of another person in the aforementioned book, I had to publish the following work now to prevent it from being stolen in the future. What necessitated this too is the novelty found in it. Therefore, excuse its raw form. This work will be the core of a larger book in the future.

Alexander Hourani

Beirut

6 April 2023

Index:

1. Rococo style: p. 3
2. Spandrel frame in the form of interlaced strips: p. 4
3. Window lintels with ogee relief: p. 5
4. Segmental arches: p. 6
5. Inscription cartouches: p. 7
6. Portal cornices: p. 8
7. Eight pointed stars on the keystones of cross vaults: p. 9
8. Palmettes: p. 9
9. Relieving pointed or ogee arches: p. 11
10. Domed porches: p. 11
11. Visible faces of vaults: p. 12
12. Brackets: p. 12
13. Entrance door flanked by two windows: p. 12
14. Church plan: p. 13
15. Majlis plan: p. 13

1. Rococo style:

The rococo or Louis XV style appeared in France around 1724 during the reign of Louis XV.

This style is distinguished by the excessive use of the shell work called *rocaille*. The form of the *rocaille* derives from the form of a shell. It has the form of C and it is surrounded from one side by an edge. The space inside this edge is often filled with channels.

This style spread from France into the Europe and the Ottoman Kingdom. The first Ottoman building where this style was used is the Nuruosmaniye mosque from 1169 H.¹

Mosque of Musa al Amiri in Aleppo from 1177 H.²

Hamidiye in Istanbul from 1189-1195 H.³

Azm palace in Hama from 1195 H.⁴

Funerary stele in Bergama from 1207 H.⁵

Fountain of Hafiz Beg Azm in Damascus from 1214 H.⁶

Nizam house in Damascus from 1215 H.⁷

Farhi house in Damascus before 1220 H.⁸

Tibi house in Damascus from 1221 H.⁹

Salim al Quwwatli house in Damascus from 1238 H.¹⁰

Mujallid house in Damascus from 1256 H.¹¹

The *rocailles* of the lintels of the two churches of Moukhtara have a simplified form which is very close to the form of the shell.

¹ Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, p. .

² David, *La Suwayqat 'Alī*, p. 186, pl. 16c.

³ Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, p. .

⁴ Bartl, *Qaṣr al- 'Azm*, p. .

⁵ Van Berchem, *Die muslimische*, p. .

⁶ Weber, *Damascus*, p. .

⁷ Scharrahs, *Damascene*, p. .

⁸ Macaulay-Lewis, *Bayt Farhi*, p. .

⁹ Weber, *Damascus*, p. .

¹⁰ Weber, *Damascus*, p. .

¹¹ Scharrahs, *Damascene*, p. .

2. Spandrel frame in the form of interlaced strips:

In this type of ornament, the spandrels are framed with strips. The strips interlace each other between the spandrels in the form of a circle.

The oldest known example is from Shadhbakhtiyya in Aleppo from 589 H. ¹² After this date, similar examples are found in Aleppo, Konya, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo:

Mashhad al Husayn in Aleppo from .¹³

Sultaniyya Zhahiriyya school in Aleppo from 613-620 H.¹⁴

Mosque of Alaeddin in Konya from 617 H. ¹⁵

School of Firdaws in Aleppo from 633-635 H. ¹⁶

Halawiyya in Aleppo from 643 H. ¹⁷

School of Karatay in Konya from 649 H. ¹⁸

Mosque of emir Husayn in Cairo from 675-729 H. ¹⁹

Tankiziyya in Jerusalem from 729 H. ²⁰

Mosque of sultan Hasan in Cairo from H. ²¹

Tomb of Turkan Khatun in Jerusalem from 753 H. ²²

Jaqmaqiyya in Damascus from 822 H. ²³ Complexly interlaced form. Double strips.

Dulamiyya in Damascus from 847 H. ²⁴ Simple form. Checkers pattern.

Muzhiriyya in Jerusalem from 885 H. ²⁵

¹² Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹³ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹⁴ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹⁵ Curatola, *Turkish art*, p. .

¹⁶ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹⁷ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹⁸ Curatola, *Turkish art*, p. . Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

¹⁹ *Comité de Conservation*, p. .

²⁰ Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

²¹ Herz, *La mosquée*, p. .

²² Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

²³ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. . Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 22.a.

²⁴ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 23.c.

²⁵ Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

Tomb of Lutfi Pasha in Damascus from 957 H.²⁶ Simple form. Interlaced double strips.

Mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Damascus from 971 H.²⁷ Simple form. Interlaced double strips.

In 1134 H., it was used on the spandrels of the portal of the palace of Salima.²⁸

Nizam house in Damascus from .²⁹

House of Salim al Quwwatli from 1238 H.³⁰

3. Window lintels with ogee relief:

This type of relief derive from the profile of the relieving arches or false arches of lintels. The profile of the arch was changed into a form close to the ogee. The oldest example of such a form is on the minaret of the Dabbagha mosque in Aleppo from the 6th century H.³¹

Kilaniyya in Jerusalem from 753 H.³²

Arghuniyya in Jerusalem from 759 H.³³

Jawhariyya in Jerusalem from 844 H.³⁴

Khalwa of Ahmad Pasha in Jerusalem from 1007-1009 H.³⁵

Additions to the Nahawiyya in Jerusalem from around 1137 H.³⁶

After, this form was carved into a relief, thus the arch ceased to be a relieving arch.

This particular ogee form is Ottoman and is found in the mosque of Lal Aga in Mut from 847 H.³⁷, in the school of Gazanfer Aga from 1008 H.³⁸

²⁶ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 25.b.

²⁷ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 32.c.

²⁸ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

²⁹ Scharrahs, *Damascene*, p. .

³⁰ Weber, *Damascus*, p. .

³¹ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

³² Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

³³ Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

³⁴ Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

³⁵ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

³⁶ Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, p. .

³⁷ Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

³⁸ Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

In the Catholic Greek church of Mouktara, the relief is carved on the lintel itself not on the course above it.

4. Segmental arches:

Segmental arches were a common element of Seljuk and Ottoman architecture in Rum.

Great mosque of Malatya from 645 and 672 H. ³⁹

Mosque of Bayazid in Bergama from 801 H. ⁴⁰

In Sham, they were almost inexistent before Ottoman rule except in Aleppo where similar types appear. The arch of the door of the bridgehead tower of the Castle of Aleppo from 903 H. has a segmental profile on its intrados but a straight profile on its extrados. ⁴¹ As for the segmental arch of the entrance door of the mosque of Hajji al Haramayn in Aleppo, it was built in 896 H. by architect Muhammad Darwish. ⁴²

The Ottomans introduced its use into Sham after 1516.

Saint Stephen Gate and Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem from 945 H. ⁴³

Khalwa of Qaytas in Jerusalem from 967 H. ⁴⁴

Writing school of al Hamawi in Aleppo from 968 H. ⁴⁵

Palace of Janpolad Beg in Aleppo from . ⁴⁶

Hujra of Islam Beg in Jerusalem from 1002 H. ⁴⁷

Tomb of the Abillama family in Mtein from 1058 H. ⁴⁸

³⁹ Gabriel, *Voyages*, p. .

⁴⁰ Van Berchem, *Die muslimischen*, p. .

⁴¹ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁴² Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. . His name indicates that he was Rumite not Shamite. Furthermore, in one of the inscriptions of this mosque, Muhammad Darwish orders that 20 osmanis be taken from the rent of the bath in order to finish the construction of this mosque. An osmani here means an Ottoman silver akche.

⁴³ Van Berchem, *Matériaux, Jerusalem, tome 3*, p. .

⁴⁴ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

⁴⁵ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁴⁶ David, *La Suwayqat*, p. .

⁴⁷ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

⁴⁸ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

Door of church of Capuchins in Salima from 1704. ⁴⁹

5. Inscription cartouches:

An inscription cartouche with semicircles on the sides is engraved on the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo and dates to 483 H. The cartouche contains two lines of writing.
⁵⁰

After, similar inscription cartouches are found in Aleppo. The cartouche is divided by strips and the writing is engraved between these strips.

in Aleppo from 766 or 771 H. ⁵¹

in Aleppo from 792 H. ⁵²

in Aleppo from the time of Qaytbay. ⁵³

Tomb of Ezdemir in Aleppo from 893 H. ⁵⁴

Khan of Khayrbek in Aleppo from 920 H. ⁵⁵

However, cartouches containing only one line of writing and grouped together appear first in the Ottoman kingdom in the early 9th century H. The earliest examples are from the Qurshunlu mosque of Bergama from 839 H. ⁵⁶ and from Edirne from 839 H. ⁵⁷

Mosque of Divrigi from 930-939 H. ⁵⁸

Uwaysiyya mosque in Tripoli from 941 H. ⁵⁹

Writing school of al Hamawi in Aleppo from 968 H. ⁶⁰

⁴⁹ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁵⁰ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵¹ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵² Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵³ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵⁴ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵⁵ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵⁶ Van Berchem, *Die muslimische*, p. .

⁵⁷ Dijkema, *The Ottoman*, p. .

⁵⁸ Van Berchem & Edhem, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁵⁹ Saliba, Tripoli, p. .

⁶⁰ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

Minaret of the citadel of Jerusalem from 1065 H. ⁶¹

Fountain of al Husayni in Jerusalem from 1137 H. ⁶²

Azm palace in Damascus from 1163 H. ⁶³

In Mount Lebanon:

Tomb of emir Abdallah Abillama in Salima from 1117 H. ⁶⁴

Palace of Salima from 1134 H. ⁶⁵

6. Portal cornices:

Cornices with a cavetto molding are common on top of walls in Damascus during the Atabegid and Ayyubid period. ⁶⁶

The Sultaniyya Zahiriyya in Aleppo from 620 H. has a cornice with a cavetto molding on top of its portal. ⁶⁷

The main gate of the Castle of Aleppo from 903 H. has a cornice with a cavetto molding on top of its door with two thin modillions on its two sides. ⁶⁸

The earliest example of this type of cornices in Mount Lebanon is found above the door of the church of the Capuchins in Salima built in 1704. ⁶⁹

Azm palace in Hama from 1153 H. ⁷⁰

Palace of Salima from 1171 H. ⁷¹

Palace of emir Ahmad Shihab in Deir el-Qamar from 1755. ⁷²

⁶¹ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

⁶² Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

⁶³ Macaulay-Lewis, *Bayt Farhi*, p. .

⁶⁴ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁶⁵ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁶⁶ *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, p. .

⁶⁷ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁶⁸ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁶⁹ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁷⁰ Bartl, *Qaṣr al- 'Aẓm*, p. .

⁷¹ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁷² Ragette, *Architecture*, p. .

Church of Saint Elias in Falougha from 1763.⁷³

Palace of emir Yusif Abillama in Mtein from .⁷⁴

Palace of emir Mahmud Abillama in Mtein from .⁷⁵

7. Eight pointed stars on the keystones of cross vaults:

Double-folded cross vaults were topped by a keystone in the form of an eight pointed star. An example of this type is found in the Azm palace in Hama from 1153 H.⁷⁶

From this type derives the usage of adorning the keystone of cross vaults with a painted eight pointed star in imitation of the eight pointed star keystone of the double-folded cross vault.

In the Maronite church of Moukhtara this form was shaped into a cross by .

8. Palmettes:

This type of ornament appears first in Seljuk buildings in Rum.

Mosque of Alaeddin in Nigde from 620 H.⁷⁷

Chifte Minare in Sivas from 670 H.⁷⁸

Great mosque of Malatya from 672 H.⁷⁹

Gok Medrese in Amasya from the 7th century H.⁸⁰

Timarkhane in Amasya from 708 H.⁸¹

⁷³ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁷⁴ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁷⁵ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁷⁶ Bartl, *Qaṣr al- 'Azm*, p. .

⁷⁷ Gabriel, *Monuments*, p. .

⁷⁸ Gabriel, *Monuments*, p. .

⁷⁹ Gabriel, *Voyages*, p. .

⁸⁰ Gabriel, *Monuments*, p. .

⁸¹ Gabriel, *Monuments*, p. .

Tomb of Khudavend in Nigde from 712 H. ⁸²

It is also found in the church of Hagia Sophia of Trebizond from 1245-1291. ⁸³

From Rum, this ornament was transferred to Aleppo after . In Aleppo, these palmettes were carved in a pattern within arches framing portals.

Mosque of Utrush in Aleppo from 812 H. ⁸⁴

Main gate of the Castle of Aleppo from 903 H. ⁸⁵

Khan of Khayrbek in Aleppo from 920 H. ⁸⁶

Mosque of Tawashi in Aleppo from 944 H. ⁸⁷

Palace of Janpolad Beg in Aleppo before . ⁸⁸

Basitiyya in Jerusalem before 834 H. ⁸⁹

Gate of Damascus in Jerusalem from 944 H. ⁹⁰

Azm palace in Hama from 1153 H. ⁹¹

In Mount Lebanon, the earliest example of its use is from the palace of Qornayel from 1177 H. ⁹²

Ghazale house in Aleppo from the 19th century. ⁹³

House of Salim al Quwwatli in Damascus from 1238 H. ⁹⁴

⁸² Gabriel, *Monuments*, p. .

⁸³ Rice, *The church of Hagia Sophia*, p. .

⁸⁴ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁸⁵ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁸⁶ Sauvaget, *Alep*, p. . Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁸⁷ Herzfeld, *Matériaux*, p. .

⁸⁸ David, *La Suwaqat*, p. .

⁸⁹ Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. .

⁹⁰ Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, 1922-1927, p. .

⁹¹ Bartl, *Qaṣr al- 'Aẓm*, p. .

⁹² Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

⁹³ David, *Alep*, p. .

⁹⁴ Weber, *Damascus*, p. .

9. Relieving pointed or ogee arches:

Relieving pointed or ogee arches above the lintels of doors and windows are a common element of Ottoman architecture.

They are found as early as .

In Jerusalem, there is an ogee relieving arch in the writing school of Bayram Chavush dating to after 947 H.⁹⁵

In the Suleymaniye in Damascus from 962 H.⁹⁶

In the zawiye of Sa'd al Din in Damascus from around 970 H.⁹⁷

The mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Damascus from 971 H.⁹⁸

10. Domed porches:

Domed porches on the fronts of mosques are an element of Ottoman architecture.

They are found during the 8th century H.

Mosque of Haji Ozbek in Iznik from 734 H. ⁹⁹

Mosque of Alaeddin in Bursa from 736 H. ¹⁰⁰

Mosque of Ibn Nejjar in Kastamonu from 754 H. ¹⁰¹

Green Mosque of Iznik from 780-794 H. ¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. .

⁹⁶ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, p. 106.

⁹⁷ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 30.a.

⁹⁸ Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Tafel 32.a.

⁹⁹ Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

¹⁰⁰ Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

¹⁰¹ Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

¹⁰² Goodwin, *A history*, p. .

11. Visible faces of vaults:

In this type of masonry, the faces of a vault spring from one of the courses of a wall not from piers. The faces are visible from the outside and interrupt the courses of the wall. This type appears in the Ottoman period and is not found before. This type must be distinguished from refill walls of vaults.

This type is found in the mosque of Kikhya and the mosque of the Sea Castle in Sidon.

12. Brackets:

The oldest known building in Mount Lebanon that has brackets supporting a flower balcony is the palace of Salima built in 1134 H.¹⁰³

13. Entrance door flanked by two windows:

This type of façades had a door flanked by two windows. It was unknown during the Mamluk period and appeared only in the Ottoman period. The tomb of Solomon or Kursi Sulayman in Jerusalem, built before 1017 H., is one of the oldest building having such an order.¹⁰⁴

This order was very common in the buildings of Damascus, Hama and Aleppo during the 18th and 19th centuries. During these two centuries, the door was often flanked by more than two windows.

The Azm palace in Hama from 1195 H. has such an order.¹⁰⁵

In the inner courtyard of the Azm palace in Damascus, the main hall built in 1163 H. has also such an order.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Mouawad, *Les Abillama*, p. .

¹⁰⁴ Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 953, 956, fig. 42.1, 42.4.

¹⁰⁵ Bartl, *Qaṣr al-‘Azm*, p. .

¹⁰⁶ Macaulay-Lewis, *Bayt Farhi*, p. 43, fig. 23.

14. Church plan:

One nave

One apse

Two lateral niches

15. Majlis plan:

2 parts: men and women

1, Side by side

2, Women side above men side

No ornaments

Water cistern

Bibliography

- Abdallah, Sobhi Ahmad صبحي احمد عبدالله. *Al 'amarah al islamiyyah fi Sayda العمارة الاسلامية في صيدا*. Chhim, Lebanon. 2004.
- Arseven, Celal Esad. *L'art Turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*. Istanbul. 1939.
- Arslan, Edoardo. *Gothic architecture in Venice*. London. 1972.
- Auld, Sylvia; Robert Hillenbrand (editors). *Ayyubid Jerusalem: the holy city in context 1187-1250*. London. 2009.
- Auld, Sylvia; Robert Hillenbrand (editors). *Ottoman Jerusalem: the living city 1517-1917*. London. 2000.
- Bartl, Karin; Abdelqader Farzat (editors). *Qaṣr al-ʿAẓm: ein osmanischer Gouverneurspalast in Hama*. Darmstadt. 2013.
- Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton. *Mamluk Jerusalem: an architectural study*. St. Leonards, Australia. 1987.
- Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, Année 1911, Fascicule 27. Cairo. 1911.
- Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron. *Early Muslim architecture: Umayyads, early 'Abbāsids and Tūlūnids*. Oxford. 1932-1940.
- Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron. *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*. Oxford. 1952-1959.
- Curatola, Giovanni. *Turkish art and architecture*. New York. 2010.
- David, Jean-Claude. *La Suwayqat 'Alī à Alep*. Damascus. 1998.
- David, Jean-Claude. *Le Waqf d'Ipšī Pāšā à Alep (1063/1653): étude d'urbanisme historique*. Damascus. 1982.
- David, Jean-Claude; François Cristofoli. *Alep: la maison Ghazalé*. 2019.
- Dijkema, F. Th. *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*. Leiden. 1977.

- Dobrowolska, Agnieszka. *Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and his sabil*. Cairo. 2004.
- Duda, Dorothea. *Innenarchitektur syrischer Stadthäuser des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: die Sammlung Henri Pharaon in Beirut*. Beirut. 1971.
- Gabriel, Albert. *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*. Paris. 1931-1934.
- Gabriel, Albert. *Une capitale turque: Brousse*. Paris. 1958.
- Gabriel, Albert. *Voyages archeologiques dans la Turquie orientale*. Paris. 1940.
- Gaube, Heinz. *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*. Beirut. 1978.
- Gergian, Raffi. *Les églises arméniennes du Liban*. Beirut. 2011.
- Goodwin, Godfrey. *A history of Ottoman architecture*. London. 2003.
- GREPO (Groupe de recherches et d'études sur le Proche-Orient). *L'habitat traditionnel dans les pays musulmans autour de la Méditerranée: Rencontre d'Aix-en-Provence (6-8 Juin 1984)*. Cairo. 1988-1991.
- Hautecoeur. *Les mosquées du Caire*. Paris. 1932.
- Hawari, Mahmoud. *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187-1250): an architectural and archaeological study*. Oxford. 2007.
- Herz, Max. *La mosquée du sultan Hassan au Caire*. Cairo. 1899.
- Herzfeld, Ernst. *Damascus: studies in architecture*. *Ars Islamica* IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. 1942-1948.
- Herzfeld, Ernst. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 2e Partie, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep, Tomes 1-2. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, Tomes 76, 77, 78*. Cairo. 1954, 1955, 1956.
- Keenan, Brigid. *Damascus: hidden treasures of the old city*. London. 2000.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *Muslim military architecture in greater Syria: from the coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*. Leiden. 2006.
- Kuri, Sami. *Eglise Saint-Joseph*. Beirut. 2001.
- Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*. Paris. 1938-1950.
- Lézine, Alexandre. *Trois palais d'époque ottomane au Caire*. Cairo. 1972.

- Macaulay-Lewis, Elizabeth. *Bayt Farhi and the Sephardic palaces of Ottoman Damascus in the late 18th and 19th centuries*. Boston. 2018.
- Meinecke, Michael. *Die mamlukische Architektur in Egypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*. Gluckstadt. 1992.
- Mohasseb Saliba, Sabine; Joseph Rustom; Ray Mouawad; Raffi Gergian; Lévon Nordiguian. *Deux monasteres du Mont Liban: Mar Challita et Mar Sha'ya*. Beirut. 2017.
- Mortensen, Peder (editor). *Bayt al- 'Aqqad: the history and restoration of a house in old Damascus*. Aarhus. 2005.
- Mouawad, Ray Jabre; Levon Nordiguian. *Les Abillama: émirs du Metn – histoire et palais XIIIe-XIXe siècles*. Beirut. 2013.
- Mouton, Jean-Michel; Jean-Olivier Guilhot; Claudine Piaton. *Portes et murailles de Damas de l'Antiquité aux premiers Mamlouks*. Beirut. 2018.
- Najm, Nabil. *L'architecture des églises maronites au Liban (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)*. Jounieh. 2013.
- Ragette, Friedrich. *Architecture in Lebanon: the Lebanese house during the 18th and 19th centuries*. Delmar, New York. 1980.
- Redford, Scott. *Legends of authority: the 1215 Seljuk inscriptions of Sinop Citadel, Turkey*. Istanbul. 2014.
- Regards sur Beyrouth: 160 ans d'images, 1800-1960*. Beirut. 2014.
- Rice, David Talbot. *The church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*. Edinburgh. 1968.
- Ruskin, John. *The stones of Venice*. New York. 1888.
- Rüstem, Ünver. *Ottoman Baroque: the architectural refashioning of eighteenth-century Istanbul*. Princeton. 2019.
- Saliba, Robert (editor). *Tripoli, the old city: monument survey-mosques and madrasas: a sourcebook of maps and architectural drawings*. Beirut. 1994.
- Sauvaget, Jean. *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*. Paris. 1941.
- Scharrahs, Anke. *Damascene 'ajami rooms*. London. 2013.

Sobernheim, Moritz. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 2e Partie, Syrie du Nord. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, Tome 25*. Cairo. 1909.

Tate, Jihane. *Une waqfiyya du XVIIIe siècle à Alep: la waqfiyya d'al-Hağğ Mūsā al-Amīrī*. Damascus. 1990.

Ünsal, Behçet. *Turkish Islamic architecture, in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*. London. 1959.

Van Berchem, Max. *Die muslimischen Inschriften von Pergamon*. Berlin. 1912.

Van Berchem, Max. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 2e Partie, Syrie du Sud, Jerusalem, Tomes 1, 2, 3. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, Tomes 43, 44, 45*. Cairo. 1920, 1922, 1925.

Van Berchem, Max; Edmond Fatio. *Voyage en Syrie. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, Tome 37-38*. Cairo. 1913-1915.

Van Berchem, Max; Halil Edhem. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 3e Partie, Asie Mineure, Tome 1, Siwas, Diwrigi. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, Tome 29*. Cairo. 1917.

Watzinger, Carl; Karl Wulzinger. *Damaskus: die antike Stadt*. Berlin. 1921.

Watzinger, Carl; Karl Wulzinger. *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*. Berlin. 1924.

Weber, Stefan. *Damascus: Ottoman modernity and urban transformation (1808-1918)*. Aarhus. 2009.